GLOSSARY

Karwa The word Karwa is used in the country to designate the residences inhabited by Living Buddhas in the lamaseries. It is also used to indicate a domain and subjects granted by the Chinese emperors of the Ming dynasty to meritorious lamas as their "personal" property with "right of bequeathing" it to their lama successor. It does not mean a grant of domains and subjects bestowed on a community of lamas or a lamasery.

K'ang A small platform, two or three feet high, built with bricks, upon which the whole family sleeps, sits, talks, sews, etc. In the front of the platform there is a small oven, the smoke from which passes through brick channels under the platform before reaching the chimney so that the platform is always warm.

Lamasery The lamasery is a place where people gather for a spiritual purpose which is void of any definite qualification; where no direction is provided in any way to the inmates, who are absolutely free to adhere to whatever doctrine they wish.

Except for the facts that the lamas observe celibacy and that the lamaseries possess corporate wealth, it is impossible to compare the lamaseries with Christian monasteries.

Living Buddha A Living Buddha is the incarnation of a Bodhisattva who, having attained the highest perfection, has potentially become a buddha. He renounces the blessedness of Nirvana and makes a vow to remain in this world in order to promote, by example and teaching, the salvation of as great a number of its creatures as possible. His vital essence thus passes

GLOSSARY

from body to body - because the body, like every material aggregate, is destined to dissolve - but it remains immaculate in its acquired unalterable purity and holiness.

Torma — A small pyramidal cake, round or triangular, made with tsamba and butter; often pieces of butter or gold or silver paper are fixed upon it. It seems to represent an evil spirit on which incantations and ritual curses are proferred, on which all kind of inauspicious and calamitous items, sins and spiritual impurities are supposed to be loaded. It is thrown far away after the ceremony, often with a display of hatred and contempt, and with it calamities seem to be removed.

T'u kuan — Eminent Monguor lama of Erh-kulung.

/3/

115 The speech extracts which appear in the present study have
191 been furnished by a T'ou-jen master of ceremonies who was accustomed to preside over the marriage ceremonies in the region. The fact that nearly all the T'ou-jen men speak Chinese more or less is what explains the use of this language, as well as the use of Chinese proverbs, in the course of the marriage ceremonies. Most of the philological notes in the present monograph were furnished by Fathers
● 104 Mostaert and De Smedt. The transcription of Monguor is the one used by the same Fathers, who adopted the general alphabet of Anthropos (Anthr. XXIV-V), but simplified. The transcription of the Chinese is the romanization adopted by the Variétés.

101 The term T'ou-jen is used by the Chinese of "Sining" to desig-
104 nate the people or peoples of the region who speak the Monguor language and who are under the jurisdiction of a t'ou-se. The term T'ou-jen means "aboriginal."

Although the peoples in question are certainly not the first inhabitants of the country, we have nevertheless thought we should adopt this improper term because it is in current use "in the country" and is used there to designate only this people. The term T'ou-jen is therefore here a people's name. The Tibetans, the Mongols, and the Salar of the country are not T'ou-jen in the eyes of the inhabitants of Sining. Besides, the local chronicles, as well as those of Liang-tcheou and Lan-tcheou use the same term when they deal with this people.

[P.4 is blank]

Mo MI 584 /18 cont'd/

agreements for mutual exchange of women. The respective members of the two clans that had entered on such agreement called each other "Kuda...." /Cited in English./ The word Kuda is found as goda in the Monguor dialect as in all the other Mongol dialects; among the Monguor it has lost its primary sense. The custom according to which the members of two clans exchanged girls in marriage no longer exists. The word guda today is the name which the members of two families related by the marriage of one of their children give to each other.

Mo 104 581

Mo 582 The conclusion then will be that we see the law of exogamy practiced largely mitigated by that of endogamy, which causes many wives, even in our day, to be taken from among the daughters of paternal aunts. (2)

2. I do not believe it is necessary to refer to totemism in order to explain the law of exogamy which presides over marriages among the T'ou-jen. The conditions of nomadic life amply provide an explanation for this practice; secondly, exogamy is not essentially totemic; thirdly, totemism among the Mongols in general has not been proved. When we deal with religious life among the T'ou-jen, we shall see, nevertheless, two facts which may attract attention to this question: we shall see the erection of the pole at the festivals given after planting, and we shall have two youth festivals.

Mo [771]

/51 cont'd/
585 all until the next day, which is the day of the wedding dinner at the home of the son-in-law; we have seen that the number of guests invited to this dinner is prescribed. He will therefore have to politely send some away. To this end he comes to each person who will be sent away, without saying any more, bringing four loaves of bread and one or two pieces of raw meat. This is called pou fen tse, "to 583 431 complete the dinner." They understand and leave with many polite phrases.

585 574 /52/ The ones chosen for the feast the next day try to find lodging for the night, either with neighbors or in the home of the bride; some of them celebrate very late into the night and pass the time singing and drinking. This part of the festivity is often less attractive for us, since the gid spoils its freshness. It has the disadvantage of sending to the wedding dinner the next day at the son-in-law's home many guests with heavy heads and in bad humor because of fatigue from a tiring trip and a night without refreshing sleep.

533 585 The T'ou-jen like to sing at weddings. Their own repertory in the language of the country is not very wide, so they ordinarily sing Tibetan songs. One of the very rare songs in the Monguor [177] language is the one about the origin of the mythical bird Chongnirwa. (1) It is very often sung at weddings.

● 104 773

1. Chong is probably the Buddhist Garuda called K'yun in Tibetan. Grunwedel says in Mythologie des Buddhismus in Thibet u. der Mongolei /Mythology of Buddhism in Tibet and Mongolia/, p. 25: semidivine being, deadly enemy of the Naga, a mounted bird, the king of the feathered /tribe/ and his kinsmen.... P. 191, ... is always represented in Lamaism with a thick body, human arms, on which the wings are located, and the horned head of a bird. He is part of the company of the formidable gods and plays

/52.cont'd/

104
773

allegorical roles, such as the role of a symbol of victory.... He also occurs in Lamaism as a human-faced bird with human hands, but then he appears to be only the adoring figure standing subordinate to another chief figure. When he is the figure of worship, he stands, with outspread arms and wings, facing a dying Yogi, his fangs /talons?/ piercing her breast. /Cited in German./ The chong live on Mount Sumeru, the T'ou-jen say, although Grunwedel (p. 180), speaking of the inhabitants of Mount Sumeru, does not mention the Garuda among them.

539
831

A young man, Feng-tong-kouo, goes out into the valley every day to pasture his master's horses. Tche-mei-kouo, a young wife who lives on the plain, also comes there every day, bringing her sheep. They meet and sit down on the highest mountain, from whence they watch over their herd and flock.... Every day when leaving home, they climb up opposite sides of the mountain to join each other at the top. On the way they pick flowers and cypress branches. Every day they climb the highest peak together to light /53/ a fire there and burn their flowers and cypress branches, adding a pinch of flour made from parched wheat: This is their offering to the spirit Tsang-rtshié; then they prostrate themselves piously....

The husband of the young wife had developed a hatred for the herdsman on the other slope of the mountain. One evening he goes to his home, gets him drunk, and kills him with a dagger blow. When he comes home, he gives his wife the dagger covered with blood. She does not succeed in cleaning it with hot water or with cold. Then, taking saliva, she slowly succeeds. This is a revelation to her. Early in the morning she anxiously climbs the mountain in order to go and see the herdsman. People are already burning his

/111 cont'd/

500 that the Eskimo present in the east of the polar region is not as uniform. /Cited in German./

Anthropos, 1929, p. 129. The central North Asiatics stand in contrast with all the peoples (polar peoples) named. Exogamy prevails among the Samojed, Ostjak, Jakut, Tungus, and Dolgan. This extends not only to the kin groups but to the whole tribe. /Cited in German./

Page 130. A kind of exogamy such as is present among these peoples requires that membership in a given community (marriage class in this case) be reckoned either on the father's side or on the mother's side, and, of course, for the simple reason .... /Cited in German./

104 Page 117. The betrothal of children, that is, the designation of two people for marriage before puberty, or even before the birth of one or both of them /cited in German/ ... (is found among all the peoples of the polar region).

584 Page 102. Customarily, an intermediary appears, usually the father or some other close male relative of the bridegroom, who negotiates with the father of the bride and often receives compensation for his trouble, perhaps in the form of property. /Cited in German./

583 Page 102. The price for the bride is determined according to the wealth of the participants and is paid in property, for example, in valuable pelts. /Cited in German./

Page 102. The bride price is paid either immediately or in installments. In the latter case the bridegroom can take his bride only when the last installment has been paid, although often he has already slept with her. /Cited in German./

Page 103. I have already said that among the peoples being discussed here a bride price /Mitgift/ is always expected. In the specific reports concerning this, almost all the authors agree. /Cited in German./

595 Herbert Koenig, "Das Eherecht der Polarvoelker," Anthropos, 1929, pp. 136-137. Polygamy and Similar Situations... In the whole polar region polygamy lawfully

104

hada - a scarf-like ceremonial cloth

hutukhtu - a great lama, a Living Buddha, a tulku

tsamba - flour made from parched ground barley or wheat

[16 cont.]
128 loanwords are cited, for Tibetan is the official language of
192 Lamaism, which occupies such a large place in the life of the
177 people. Here it should be mentioned that the old man desig-
[198] nated the expressions from Tibetan or Mongolic as "higher lan-
[186] guage" or "literary language," a value that he did not accord Chinese.

Finally a note with regard to the peculiar nature of this
114 work. It presents a popular religion, and that of a certain group.
[184] This means in the first place that not everything can be gen-
eralized for the Koko Nor region, not even for all the Tujen.
[179] Secondly, one will find no accounts about the dogma, the official rites, or the secret practices of monastic Lamaism and the higher Bon religion. The Tibetan and Mongolic writings give this information. Also, it was unnecessary to cite the basic literature on this subject, at least not to any considerable extent. To be sure, this is not infrequently done, but only when it seemed to be required for an understanding of the popular customs. In such cases it was preferable to start from linguistic considerations. On the other hand, a presentation of the popular religion as practiced is a help for knowledge of the
[177] official religion. The popular belief, with its various customs, casts new light on the multiformity of monastic Lamaism, which has adopted so many pre-Buddhistic traits from the conceptual realm of Central Asia.

6. The Transcription of the Tujen Language

● 104

The transcription of the Tujen words and the Tibetan-Mongolic loanwords is based on the orthography of the DMF. For practical reasons, however, the large letters were replaced by small ones and the diacritical marks simplified. The following table presents first the orthography used here (S), under it the one used by P. A. Mostaert in the DMF (M), and under that the phonetic values of the Anthropos alphabet (A).

[16 cont.]

●104

Consonants

	Laryn-gals	Velars**	Medio-gutturals**	Pre-gutturals	Palatals	Palatalized*
S	h	ġ x	g k	y	ž š dž tš	s dz ts
M	χ	Ǧ Ƨ	G k'	y	Ƨ ş DƵ ţş	ś DƵ́ ţś'
A	h	g̣ x̣	g kh	y	ẓ̌ ṣ̌ dẓ̌ tšh	ṣ̌ dẓ̌ ţṣ̌

	Dentals	Dentilabials	Labials**	Liquids	Nasals
S	d t s dz ts	f	b p w f	r l	ṅ n m
M	D t' ş DƵ ţs'	f	B p' w f	r l, r	ŋ n m
A	đ th s đz tsh	f	b ph w ff	r l	ṅ, ŋ n m

* Only before the dipthongs ia, ie, iä, and before i.

** g, g, b have the voiceless mark "-" in the Anthropos alphabet (A).

[17] "g," "ġ," "b," "d" are always voiceless. Hence the voiceless mark (-) is superfluous. "p," "t," "k," "ts," "s," "tš," "k" are always aspirated, and therefore the aspirate "-h" is unnecessary. "d" and "t" are palatalized only in conjunction with "dz" and "ts," so that a palatalization sign is not necessary. The same applies to "s," "dz," "ts," "sdz," "sts," which are palatalized only before "i," "ia," "ie," "iä." For instance, in place of dźia (according to the Anthropos alphabet), there is simply dzia.

104 197 Besides "l" and "r," the DMF has a hybrid sound which approximately corresponds to the English "r" that is trilled once, and "r" is always used for it. The dialect in the region of my informant does not have nearly so many examples of this intermediate sound. The people there almost always differentiate the "l" from the "r" and almost always in the sense of written Mongolic, as I was later able to establish. According to the [192] DMF, Ǧar can mean "fire" and "hand"; supposedly there is no difference phonetically. My informants, on the other hand, quite clearly say ġal for "fire" and ġar for "hand."

[17 cont.]

104 192 The "f" is always bilabial before "u" and popularly acts as bilabial for the Tibetan initial "b" in loanwords, for example, fdzaṅ (incense) for the Tibetan bsaṅs. Furthermore, it is to be observed in the case of Tibetan loanwords that the silent consonants of the written language are usually pronounced.

104

Vowels

S	i	ü	ẽ	e̱	ë	ä	a	ō	o	u
M	i	ü	ẽ	e̱	e̬	ä	a	u̱	o	u
A	i	ü	e̱	e̱	e	a̱	a	o	o̱	u

The nasals are "ã," "ẽ," "õ," "ã." They usually occur in conjunction with "ṅ." A line over a vowel indicates lengthening. The diphthongs "ie," "iä," "ia," "iu," "io" are always rising. There is only one falling diphthong, namely, "ou"; "ō" is always given for this because the "u" is scarcely audible. The murmured vowel "ë" represents a special case. In everyday speech it is often difficult to determine in the case of lightly accented syllables whether it is "i," "e," "u" etc., especially in case endings. Thus in the text this "ë" will occasionally be found for "i" and along with the univocal "i" of the nominative or accusative or for the "u" of the dative, etc., for example, morë along with mori (horse), or morinë along with morini (of the horse), or tieṅgërdë along with tieṅgërdu (to the sky), etc.

As the transcription for Chinese, that of Wade-Giles is used, for Tibetan that of Grünwedel with modifications, for Mongolic that of Unkrig.

[Pages 17-18 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

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I. INTENSIVENESS OF THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE MONGUORS AND THE POSITION OF ITS FORMS

PRIVATE AND PUBLIC RELIGIOUS LIFE

The religious life of the Monguors is very intensive, and not a superficial veneer that scales off easily. Indeed, it has not only a private and a family characteristic, but a social and compulsory aspect, as well.

A missionary, accustomed to living with Chinese, is quite surprised when he comes among the Monguors, by their almost continuous recitation of *Om Mani Padme H'um*.[1] It is repeated by old and young, both men and women, hundreds of times a day, under all circumstances. The mind of the Monguor appears to be fixed on religion in a most unusual way. Mothers, kissing and cuddling their babies, like to say happily, over and over, "Om Mani," "Om Mani," as if thanking Buddha (*Avalokita*) for the baby. The sick, suffering on the *k'ang*,[2] find relief in sighing Om Mani the whole day, hoping to be cured. When hailstorms threaten crops, Om Mani will be said hundreds of times by every terrified farm family, in the hope that Buddha will make the wind change the course of the clouds. When someone in the village dies, all the villagers gather at night in the courtyard of the deceased, where they sit for many hours saying the Om Mani for the deceased.

[1] The formula *Om Mani Padme H'um* has always been and still is an enigma. All attempts to explain it remain unsatisfactory. Each lama of a sect, each student of things Tibetan has proposed his own explanation. It appears to be of Hindu origin and not Tibetan. Some trace its appearance in Tibet back to the eighteenth, fourteenth, and thirteenth centuries; and even to the seventh century. See P. Pelliot, *T'oung Pao* 24: 395, 1924. The explanation of the formula seems to vindicate *mani padme* as a vocative of *Manipadma*, the proper name of a female deity.

[2] A small platform, two or three feet high, built with bricks, upon which the whole family sleeps, sits, talks, sews, etc. In the front of the platform there is a small oven, the smoke from which passes through brick channels under the platform before reaching the chimney so that the platform is always warm.

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Sodalities, most of them for women, are organized in every village. The members convene to recite the Om Mani as they circle the Bumkhang[3] of the village all day. Whenever a Monguor is in serious trouble, he prays Om Mani, and when a happy event occurs, he gives thanks by Om Mani. Supposedly, all kinds of evil are dispelled and all blessings obtainable by Om Mani.

Monguor families place in the center of their courtyards a high pole with a small flag flying from atop it. Om Mani and other prayers are printed on the flag as an offering, day and night, by the family to Buddha. Prayer wheels, containing hundreds of repetitions of Om Mani printed on paper, are moved by water power, so that Om Mani will be offered continually, as the wheels revolve.

The Monguors have used their Om Mani to such an extent that its true meaning no longer exists. A farmer becoming angry at the lazy oxen, while plowing his fields, will beat them and swear furiously with a well-articulated Om Mani; gamblers, on losing the game, their patience wearing thin, will say Om Mani in a blasphemous tone. While weeding fields, if a lascivious song is enjoyed, farmers say Om Mani, meaning the song is well sung. When a smutty joke is told, listeners will say Om Mani, laughing, to indicate it is a good joke. It is said that thieves and robbers say Om Mani as an aid to their practice of larceny. Foreign travelers jest that, if robbers kill their victim, he will have the consolation, when dying, of hearing the killer saying Om Mani. Om Mani can be and is offered under all circumstances: riding horseback, working in the fields or at home, while laughing, gambling, singing, conducting business, and even sleeping.

The Monguor's fondness for and promiscuous use of Om Mani has reduced it to a mockery of its original intent. Nevertheless, it is in fact most often used as a real prayer.

The Monguors are not ashamed to pray in public, to

[3] A structure at the entrance to the village to prevent the entrance of evil influences.

cypress offering. Wei-sang, is first performed in the temple. A shaman, or lama of the Red Sect, summons into his staff the spirits who predict the success and the opportuneness of the rite. He steps to the head of the procession with the spirit-laden staff, followed by a group of horn blowers and banner and drum bearers. Then come the statue of the temple, enthroned in the sedan chair, the table and stake gods, and the 108 bearers of the heavy books, one after another, while the music plays, and Om Mani prayers are devoutly recited the whole way. The procession tours around the limits of the extensive village lands, making stops on the highest mountains or most elevated spots, where the ritual cypress burning is done and where the whole group walks three times around the spot. When they return to the temple the ritual cypress offering closes the ceremony. The procession usually lasts for a whole day. The next day the books are returned to the monastery.

The procession involves the whole male population of the village. The bearing of Buddhist books is said to be very effective, as are the praying of Om Mani, the offering of tea to the lamas and of butter for the lamps, and the shamanist spirit-laden staff, the table and stake gods, and all the other Taoist statues of the temple which tour the village at the same time. All available heterogenous forces contribute to the success of this specifically Buddhist rite. Usually this procession with the books is performed every other year; in the intervening year it is performed without the books.[4]

THE GOAT SKIN RITE

After such displays of all kinds of religious rites, however, the Monguors, still unassured, perform the celebrated goat skin rite enacted by a shaman or a lama of the Red Sect, who is proficient in subduing the hail spirits in a direct way by magical power. The rite is enacted on the highest mountain of the village—not on the sacred mountain. A big fire of cypress branches is kindled, which lasts during the entire time of the performance of the rite. The lama makes a big *torma*[5] and four smaller ones; then with *tsamba* and butter he kneads various crude figures of animals living in the water, birds of the air and of animals living on the earth.[6] Small pieces of meat are also prepared. The lama or shaman recites his awful incantations and ritual

[4] Schröder, *op. cit.*, Der Flur Umzug, *Anthropos* 47: 835, 1952. More details are available in this valuable study.

[5] *Torma:* a small pyramidal cake, round or triangular, made with *tsamba* and butter; often pieces of butter or gold or silver paper are fixed upon it. It seems to represent an evil spirit on which incantations and ritual curses are proferred, on which all kind of inauspicious and calamitous items, sins and spiritual impurities are supposed to be loaded. It is thrown far away after the ceremony, often with a display of hatred and contempt, and with it calamities seem to be removed. (See more in Filchner, *Kumbum Dschamba ling, op. cit.*, chap. XIV.)

[6] According to Hoffman, *op. cit.*, 138, the dough figures represent the spirits of the upper, middle, and underworld honored in the old Bon religion. Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 125.

[p. 101 (A)]